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sume their *political functions* as members of the Union, they must be *organized de novo*. In this sense, and so far, they must be treated as 'Territories.' This reorganization must be based upon some enabling act or some legitimating authority proceeding from the government of the United States. And such enabling act or legitimating authority cannot, without absurdity, be forbidden to apply such conditions, restrictions, and modes of procedure in the process of reorganization, as the Rebellion itself has demonstrated to be absolutely necessary to the national existence, the national Union, and national peace."—pp. 334, 335.

In conclusion, we cannot but regret that Mr. Goodwin had not at the start thrown off all reference to Bishop Hopkins, and given us an independent work upon a subject which he has shown himself so well qualified to treat. Vast masses of our people still require education on the vital questions connected with slavery, and many thinking men, who would be benefited by the sturdy and impervious logic of our author, will be deterred from taking up his volume on account of the controversial aspect arising from his demolition of the thrice-routed Bishop of Vermont.

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8. — *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. Albany: J. Munsell. 1865. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xv. and 555, 544.

THIS work was planned and the first seven chapters of it were written by the late Colonel William L. Stone, sometime editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, and favorably known as the author of a *Life of Joseph Brant*, a *History of Wyoming*, and some other works in the department of Indian biography. At his death, in 1844, his manuscripts passed into the possession of his son of the same name, together with the copious materials which, with much difficulty and expense, he had collected for his long meditated *Life of Johnson*, and which comprised upward of five thousand unpublished letters. The portion of the work for which we are indebted to Colonel Stone fills about half of the first volume; and the residue, if we may judge from the internal evidence afforded by a comparison of the two parts, has been executed in strict accordance with the original plan. The style of the son is very much like that of the father; their views of the character of Sir William Johnson and of the time in which he lived seem to be identical; and the same characteristics of plan and execution are apparent in one part which we notice in the other.

Failing to recognize the broad distinction between history and biography, the authors have given us a history of the times of Sir William

Johnson, rather than a compact and well-digested life of him. If we remember rightly, his name does not occur half a dozen times in the first two hundred pages; and all through the book the thread of the narrative is continually disappearing under episodes which have not the slightest connection with him. After a few paragraphs about Johnson, the reader is transported without warning to Nova Scotia or Massachusetts, only to find himself the next moment plunged into the middle of an account of something which happened in Pennsylvania or Virginia, or threading the devious mazes of New York politics. In reading these volumes, we are constantly reminded of one of our old-fashioned ordination sermons, in which the preacher always found it necessary to include an account of the creation and the fall of man, with some reflections on the horrors of the French Revolution, whatever might be the chief topic of discourse. With the immense mass of inedited materials at his disposal, Mr. Stone could scarcely have failed of making an attractive book, in spite of a want of picturesqueness and animation in his style, if he had contented himself with simply narrating the life of Johnson, and delineating his character with such reference only to the general history of the country as might be needful for the elucidation of his proper subject. That Mr. Stone keeps out of sight the less reputable transactions in which his hero was concerned, and that he paints him in colors brighter than a strict regard to historical justice will warrant, is not perhaps surprising, but it diminishes the confidence with which we might otherwise follow his guidance. The partisan spirit too often exhibited, the want of vigor in the style, the number of the digressions, and the length to which the work is extended, must prevent its becoming popular, or holding a high place in our historical literature.

In one other respect Mr. Stone has been peculiarly unfortunate: his volumes are among the worst printed books which it has been our painful duty to read. The dropping, improper insertion, or transposition of one or more letters in a word, is a frequent occurrence; and even when a word is spelt correctly, it is in several important instances not the word intended, and the meaning of the passage is obscured by the blunder. Thus we find "effects" instead of "efforts," "advocated" instead of "adverted," "mutually" instead of "mentally," "conformation" instead of "confirmation," "Siberia" instead of "Silesia," and other equally gross errors.

William Johnson was born at Warrentown, in the County of Down, Ireland, in the year 1715, and was derived from an ancient and respectable stock. Of his early life nothing is known, and it is probable that not much care was bestowed on his education, though there is some reason to believe that later in life he was acquainted with French

and German, and perhaps with some branches of natural science. At the age of twenty-three he came to this country on the invitation of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, afterward commander of the naval forces at the siege of Louisburg, and an admiral in the British service. Warren had a large estate in New York, and the management of a part of it was intrusted to his nephew, who, immediately after landing, fixed his residence on the Mohawk River, about thirty miles west from Albany. For several years Johnson seems to have devoted himself mainly to his uncle's affairs and to the improvement of his own fortunes, gradually acquiring that familiarity with the Indian character and that influence over his Indian neighbors which subsequently made him one of the chief personages in the Colonial history.

Not long after his arrival he married ; but this part of his life is involved in almost as much obscurity as his childhood, and we know only that his wife was a young German girl, who died in a few years, leaving a son, Sir John Johnson, a noted Loyalist of the Revolution, and two daughters. Meanwhile the young adventurer was slowly rising into public notice, and acquiring a wide-spread reputation by his skilful management of various negotiations with the Indians ; and in 1750, the importance of his services was recognized by his appointment as a member of the Provincial Council. Three years afterward he was still further rewarded by the grant of Onondaga Lake, with all the land around it for a width of two miles. Up to this time he had had no military experience ; but such were already his influence and his reputation for ability and good judgment, that when Braddock, in the spring of 1755, planned his four expeditions to repel the encroachments of the French on the English frontier, Johnson was selected to command the forces intended to operate against Crown Point. Considerable delay occurred in making the necessary preparations ; and it was not until the end of August that his little army of thirty-four hundred men reached the head of Lake George, or St. Sacrament, as it was called by the French. It was composed partly of Indians and partly of undisciplined militia from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut ; but among them were three men whose names will always fill an honorable place in our early annals, — Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College, John Stark, and Israel Putnam. Having reached Lake George, Johnson determined to clear a space for a camp, and to await the tardy arrival of his artillery and boats. Meanwhile the French were not inactive, and early in September the Baron Dieskau, an experienced soldier, who had been intrusted with the defences of Crown Point, determined to take advantage of this unforeseen delay. Accordingly he ascended Lake Champlain at the head of about four-

teen hundred men, — regulars, Canadians, and Indians, — and, entering the South Bay, landed not far from the spot where Whitehall now stands, with the design of making a night attack on Fort Edward. Through some blunder of the guides the party took the wrong road, and instead of marching direct upon the fort, they found themselves at night-fall some distance on the way to Lake George. Information of the advance of the French soon reached Johnson's camp, and on the morning of the 8th of September Colonel Williams was sent with a thousand or twelve hundred men, partly militia and partly Indians, to relieve the threatened fort. Marching without those precautions which experience should have taught them were needful, they soon fell into an ambush, and after a short and sharp fight they were compelled to retreat with the loss of a large number of officers and men, including Williams himself, and Hendrick the Mohawk chief, a man venerable in years, and held in just esteem as a prudent and sagacious counsellor and a faithful friend of the English.

If this first success had been instantly followed up, there is reason to believe that Johnson's little force in the neighboring camp would have been utterly routed; but the Canadian Indians held back. Time was thus afforded for the fugitives to recover from their panic, and for Johnson to make some hasty preparations for defence. In a few hours, however, the battle commenced, and after a severe contest, which lasted for five hours, the French were put to flight, leaving Dieskau wounded and a prisoner in the hands of the New England troops. Johnson also had been wounded at the commencement of the action; and to the end of his life he suffered more or less from the effects of the wound. We would not depreciate the importance of this battle, nor of the part which Johnson took in it; but it will be generally conceded, we think, that the chief credit should be awarded to General Lyman, who was second in command, and that the British Ministry were somewhat extravagant in their exultations over a victory which was not followed up by the successful prosecution of the sole object of the campaign. Nevertheless, Johnson was made a Baronet, and received a grant of five thousand pounds sterling in the following November; and shortly afterward he was appointed "Colonial Agent and sole Superintendent of all the Affairs of the Six Nations and other Northern Indians." After the battle he suffered the autumn to slip away in inactivity, contenting himself with building a fort, called Fort William Henry, on the southern shore of the lake, on the spot where a large and fashionable hotel now stands; and on the approach of winter he disbanded his army, with the exception of six hundred men, who were left to garrison the new fort, and then returned home.

During the next two or three years he took no active part in the military operations which were languidly carried on, but devoted himself to the more congenial duties of a civil functionary, and the management of various negotiations with the Indians. In the spring of 1756 he held a council at Onondaga, which was attended by representatives of the Six Nations, the Shawanese, and the Delawares. The principal objects of this council were to persuade the Delawares to lay down the hatchet which they had taken up against the settlers of Pennsylvania, and to induce the Indians to join in the proposed expedition against the French posts on Lake Ontario. By the exercise of much skill and adroitness on the part of Johnson, both objects were fully attained, and the way was opened for two other councils in the same year, at the last of which a reconciliation of the Delawares of the Susquehanna with the English was effected, and a definitive treaty of peace was concluded. In the following year, however, the Six Nations, who had begun to waver in their attachment to the English, threw off all hesitation and doubt, and sent a large delegation to Canada to make peace with the French governor. To counteract the evils which he anticipated from this step, Johnson summoned a new council to meet in June, and by much exertion he persuaded the Indians either to remain neutral or to renew their alliance with the English, and to enter actively into the contest. In these negotiations, in organizing and sending out war parties against the French, and in conducting in person some unimportant operations in the field, he found abundant occupation until the summer of 1759, when he accompanied the expedition of General Prideaux against Fort Niagara.

On the death of that officer, who was accidentally killed in the trenches on the 19th of July, while directing the siege, Johnson succeeded to the chief command. The attack was pressed by the new general with unabated vigor; and he soon signalized himself by a bold and successful movement, resulting in the total defeat of a strong body of French and Indians who were advancing to relieve the fort. Leaving a sufficient force to hold the garrison in check, he marched out on the 24th to give battle to the approaching enemy; and after a brisk and well-directed fire of musketry, he charged them at the point of the bayonet, capturing a large number of prisoners, among whom was the French commander, M. d'Aubry, and utterly dispersing the remainder of the army. The same evening he summoned the fort to surrender; and the next morning he had the satisfaction of taking possession of this famous post, the last important link in the chain of forts by which the French had sought to unite their possessions on the St. Lawrence with those in Louisiana. Immediately afterward, the remaining forts

between Lake Erie and the Ohio, Venango, Presque Isle, and Le Bœuf, were evacuated and blown up; and having made some necessary repairs on the captured fort, Johnson returned home, justly proud of the victory which he had achieved.

In the early part of the following year, he founded the settlement not far from Schenectady called Johnstown, which afterward became his own place of residence; and at a little later period he joined General Amherst with a body of Indian auxiliaries, and took an active part in the siege of Montreal. The next year we find him still more busily engaged in the management of Indian affairs, and even making a journey so far west as Detroit, for the purpose of holding a grand council. His mission was crowned with success; and after holding several smaller councils on the way, he reached his place of destination on the 3d of September, 1761. Here he was at once waited on by delegations from the various Western tribes, and on the 9th the council opened. Its result was the conclusion of a satisfactory treaty with the Indians, and the adoption of such measures as, it was hoped, would prevent the recurrence of the grievances which had hitherto endangered the peace of the frontier.

On the breaking out of Pontiac's conspiracy, in 1763, he took active measures to secure the neutrality of the Six Nations, and at the same time armed his own tenantry, and erected a strong stockade at Johnson Hall, flanked by two stone towers. By the exercise of all his personal influence, enforced no doubt by these defensive steps, he firmly attached five of the Six Nations to the English, and, to cite his own words, preserved the frontiers of New York "and the important communication to Ontario, both of which must have inevitably fallen but for their fidelity." Similar, if less important, negotiations occupied most of his time during the last ten or twelve years of his life; and when not thus engaged, he found employment in agricultural pursuits and in the management of his private affairs. He did not overlook in the mean time his duties as a member of the council, nor the interests of his growing settlement at Johnstown; and by the erection of a grist-mill and a church, and in various other ways, he endeavored to promote its welfare and to attract to it new settlers.

When it became apparent that a great and final struggle between the Colonies and the mother country was inevitable, and that it would not be possible much longer for any one to remain neutral, Johnson hesitated and wavered, and it must be regarded as extremely doubtful which side he would have taken when the line was finally drawn. On the one hand, Mr. Stone unhesitatingly expresses the opinion, that, "had he lived until it was necessary to have taken a decided stand, he would

have boldly espoused the cause of the Colonies." On the other hand, Mr. Sabine classes him among the American Loyalists, and there, we think, he would in the end have been found. But death closed his career before the war had actually begun and the position of every man had become clearly defined.

Still retaining, through all the stress of the times, the management of Indian affairs, he probably owed his last brief illness to a too energetic performance of his duties. When the Six Nations heard of the outbreak on the Virginia frontier known as Cresap's war, and of the unprovoked murder of Logan's family, a strong feeling of revenge was excited among many of the younger warriors, while the older chiefs were filled with alarm lest the friendly relations which they had so long maintained with the people of New York should be violently ruptured. Accordingly they expressed a wish to Johnson for a council to deliberate on the existing state of affairs; and on the 7th of July, 1774, they assembled at Johnson Hall to the number of about six hundred. Three or four days were occupied with the customary preliminaries; and on the 11th, Johnson addressed them for about two hours, endeavoring to soothe their exasperation, and to cement the existing peace, by all those arguments which he had learned so well how to urge. Scarcely had he closed, and the crowd dispersed, before he was seized by a violent attack of the dysentery, which terminated fatally at an early hour in the evening. It has sometimes been asserted, on the strength of local tradition, that his death was caused by his own hand; but this story is utterly rejected by his biographer, and there seems to be no good reason for accepting it. Johnson, it is true, was not an old man; but his health had been seriously impaired, he had long suffered from his wound, and it is known that he was unwell when the council met. Under these circumstances, it is probable that the exertion of speaking so long in the open air, under a July sun, added to his anxiety at the condition of public affairs, was too great for him, and that this was the immediate cause of his death. Two days afterward, his body was borne to its final resting-place beneath the altar of the village church, followed by his neighbors and the great council with which he had so recently been in consultation.

That Sir William Johnson was in several respects a remarkable man, and that his life well deserves to be written, will be conceded by all who are familiar with our later Colonial history. He had a rare power of adaptation, and no other subject of Great Britain on this continent ever acquired or maintained so strong an influence over the Indians. This influence he owed in part to the facility with which he entered into their feelings, and fitted his words and actions to their



habits of life and modes of thought, and in part, no doubt, to the fairness of his dealings with them. In spite of some traditions which imply that he was not always scrupulous about the manner of acquiring land-grants from them, there is no evidence that he ever defrauded them in a single transaction, or that his large property was amassed by dishonest means. To this praise, we think, he is fairly entitled; and such rare honesty could scarcely have failed to impress his semi-barbarous neighbors. The influence which he had thus acquired was in general wisely used, and was on many occasions of great advantage to the English Colonists. It must, however, always be a cause of shame and regret that he organized scalping parties among the Indians, and that he did not endeavor to soften the atrocities of Indian warfare.

When we turn from Johnson's management of Indian affairs to his military, political, and private life, we find little evidence of superior abilities, and nothing to show a high moral tone. As a soldier, his most important and creditable achievement was the capture of Fort Niagara; as a politician, he took no conspicuous part in the discussions which preceded the Revolution; and his domestic relations were disreputable, though not worse, perhaps, than those of many of his contemporaries. If he owed little to his early education, he doubtless owed much to his uncle's patronage; and the circumstances in which he was placed were those best suited to call out the strong points of his character.

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9. — *Historical View of the American Revolution.* By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, Author of "Historical Studies," "Biographical Studies," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1865. 16mo. pp. 459.

MR. GREENE has long been known to our readers as a careful and accurate student of history, and as an able and scholarly writer; and in his life of his grandfather, in Sparks's Library of American Biography, he early gave evidence of the fidelity with which he had studied our Revolutionary annals. The volume now before us is a further proof of his ability to deal with that portion of our history, and bears in every part the marks of ripe and various culture. It comprises a course of twelve lectures read before the Lowell Institute, in this city, in the winter of 1863, and, with the exception of one of the lectures, apparently printed in the same form in which they were originally prepared. The subject is one that is well adapted to the purposes of the lecture-room and the requirements of a miscellaneous audience. Apart from the interest which it must always have for every American, there are